

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EUR-12 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00  
NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10  
L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 IO-13 /078 W  
-----075285 282206Z /12

O 281905Z JUN 78

FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1537  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PRETORIA 3647

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PDEV, SF, WA  
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: PRETORIA FIVE MEETING WITH BOHTA JUNE 28

THE PRETORIA FIVE MT WITH FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA ON  
JUNE 28. FOLLOWING IS OUR AGREED REPORT:

QUOTE: 1. AFTER TWO UNEXPLAINED DELAYS, THE PRETORIA  
FIVE WERE SUMMONED TO MEET FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA AT 1400  
HOURS LOCAL TIME ON 28 JUNE. ON OUR ARRIVAL FOURIE GAVE  
US THE TEXT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S RESPONSE TO THE APPROACH MADE  
ON 22 JUNE. WE TOOK TEN MINUTES TO READ IT BEFORE THE  
START OF THE MEETING, WHICH LASTED ABOUT AN HOUR.  
(TEXT OF RESPONSE IN PRTORIA 3646)

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2. WE EXPLAINED THAT WHILE OUR RESPONSE COULD ONLY BE A  
PRELIMINARY ONE, WE WERE CONCERNED IN PARTICULAR BY THE  
SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENT IN PARAGRAPH 12  
THAT THE SUGGESTION WE HAD PUT TO THEM WOULD "AMOUNT  
TO A SUBSTANTIAL AMENDMENT OF THE PROPOSAL". WE DID  
NOT REGARD OUR SUGGESTION AS A CHANGE, BUT IF THEY

MAINTAINED THAT IT WAS A CHANGE, THEN WE WOULD HAVE TO REGARD THEIR REPLY AS A REJECTION OF WHAT WE HAD INTENDED AS A HELPFUL SUGGESTION. WE REGARDED OUR SUGGESTION AS COMING FIRMLY WITHIN THE ORIGINAL PROPOSAL, EVEN THOUGH WE ACCEPTED THAT IF LIMITED THE OPTIONS. WE WERE VERY DISAPPOINTED THAT THEY WERE NOT ABLE TO SHOW MORE FLEXIBILITY. THE ASSUMPTION UNDERLYING OUR SUGGESTION OF THE GROOTFONTEIN OPTION WAS THE REDUCTION OF FORCES WOULD ONLY TAKE PLACE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF VISIBLE PEACE ON THE GROUND.

3. BOTHA ARGUED THAT TO BE USEFUL TO THE WESTERN FIVE, THE SAG'S AGREEMENT TO OUR SUGGESTION WOULD HAVE TO BE DESCRIBED TO SWAPO AS A CONCESSION OR AN ALTERATION OF THE PROPOSAL. THIS WOULD CAUSE PRESSURES WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA FOR COUNTER CONCESSIONS FROM SWAPO. THE SLIGHTEST CHANGE IN THE WESTERN PROPOSAL WOULD OPEN THE WAY TO REQUESTS FOR CHANGES ON THE OTHER SIDE. HE ARGUED THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAD WITHDRAWN

MOST RELUCTANTLY ITS DEMAND TO HAVE TROOPS IN THE NINE BORDER POINTS. THE SA BASES WERE REDUCED TO TWO IN THE PROPOSAL AND THEY WERE NOW BEING ASKED TO REDUCE TO ONLY ONE. IN FACT THIS WOULD AMOUNT TO A TOTAL WITHDRAWAL FROM OVAMBOLAND. OSHIVELLO, HE NOTED, IS IN THE MOST CONFIDENTIAL

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SOUTHERN PART OF OVAMBOLAND AND IS NOT POPULATED BY ANYONE THE SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS COULD INTIMIDATE. WITHDRAWAL TO GROOTFONTEIN WOULD GREATLY INCREASE THE TIME NEEDED TO MEET ANY SUDDEN THREAT IN OVAMBOLAND. WE RESPONDED THAT THE WITHDRAWAL TO ONE BASE WOULD COME ONLY AFTER 12 WEEKS OF SUCCESSIVE REDUCTIONS AND WOULD BE TIED TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE ON BOTH SIDES.

4. BOTHA ASKED WHETHER THE AMBASSADORS WOULD BE PREPARED TO PUT TO THEIR GOVERNMENTS A PROPOSAL TO INCREASE THE RESIDUAL FORCE TO 3000 IF HE IN TURN WERE PREPARED TO TAKE OUR SUGGESTION BACK AGAIN TO THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE. WE RESPONDED THAT THIS WOULD BE A BASIC CHANGE IN THE ORIGINAL PROPOSAL WHICH WOULD INEVITABLY OPEN THE WAY TO SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER CHANGE FROM THE OTHER SIDE. THIS WE COULD NOT SUPPORT.

5. AT THIS POINT WE SAID THAT IN MAKING OUR PROPOSAL TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT ON 22 JUNE, WE RECOGNIZED THAT WE COULD NOT GUARANTEE THAT SWAPO WOULD REGARD ACCEPTANCE OF OUR SUGGESTION AS FULLY MEETING THEIR POINT. AS A POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE APPROACH, IT MIGHT

BE POSSIBLE FOR US TO MAKE THIS SUGGESTION TO THE OTHER SIDE TO TEST THEIR REACTION. IF SWAPO INDICATED THAT THIS WOULD MEET THEIR POINT, WOULD THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT BE PREPARED TO CONTEMPLATE LIMITING THEIR TROOPS TO GROOTFONTEIN?

6. BOTHA REACTED NEGATIVELY. THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT COULD CONTEMPLATE NO CHANGE OR VARIATION IN THE PROPOSAL WITHOUT A GUID PRO QUO. HE THOUGHT THAT HE HAD DONE HIS SHARE GETTING HIS COLLEAGUES TO COME AS FAR AS THEY HAD, AND HE COULD NOT GO BACK TO THE PRIME MINISTER. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE FIVE SHOULD FEEL THEMSELVES FREE TO PRESENT THEIR CASE TO THE PRIME MINISTER IF THEY SO WISHED AND HE WOULD GLADLY TRY TO ARRANGE AN APPOINTMENT.

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OUR IMPRESSION, HOWEVER, WAS THAT THIS WOULD BE OF LITTLE USE WITHOUT SOME NEW ELEMENT. WE SAID THAT IT MIGHT INDEED BE NECESSARY TO SEE THE PRIME MINISTER AT SOME LATE DATE BUT THAT WE WERE NOT YET IN A POSITION TO SEEK AN APPOINTMENT. BOTHA MADE CLEAR THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD IN ANY CASE NOT BE AVAILABLE UNTIL 3 JULY.

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INR-10 L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 /078 W  
-----074064 282033Z /12

O 281905Z JUN 78

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1538  
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7. BOTH, WHO WAS IN A BUSINESSLIKE AND UNEMOTIONAL MOOD THROUGHOUT THE INTERVIEW, EMPHASIZED THAT HE RECOGNIZED THAT BOTH HE AND THE FIVE WISHED TO ASSIST ONE ANOTHER. BUT THERE WERE LIMITS BEYOND WHICH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT FOUND IT IMPOSSIBLE TO GO, BUT IF WE COULD WIN SWAPO'S ACCEPTANCE, THE SAG WOULD GO AHEAD WITH THE ORIGINAL PROPOSAL.

8. COMMENT: WE HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT BOTH BOTHA AND FOURIE WERE SINCERE IN STATING THAT THEY COULD NOT GO BACK TO THE PRIME MINISTER ON THIS MATTER WITHOUT SOMETHING NEW FROM THE FIVE. ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT WE ALL AGREE THAT IT IS OUT OF THE QUESTION TO MODIFY THE PROPOSAL AS IT STANDS, THE OPTIONS FOR FUTURE PRO-  
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GRESS SEEM TO BE EXTREMELY LIMITED. ONE POSSIBILITY MIGHT BE TO APPROACH SWAPO TO SEE IF THEY WOULD ACCEPT THE PROPOSAL ON THE CONDITION THAT SOUTH AFRICA WOULD MAINTAIN ITS RESIDUAL FORCE ONLY AT GROOTFONTEIN. THIS IDEA WOULD BE STRENGTHENED IF WE COULD GET SWAPO AND THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO AGREE NOT TO INITIATE MILITARY ACTION OR ACTS OF VIOLENCE THUS CREATING A BETTER ATMOSPHERE FOR ACCEPTANCE OF THE GROOTFONTEIN OPTION. IN OUTLINING THIS POSSIBILITY TO SWAPO WE COULD SAY THAT WE HAVE NO ASSURANCE THAT SOUTH AFRICA WOULD ACCEPT IT BUT BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD GIVE US GREATER LEVERAGE TO ACHIEVE AND ENFORCEABLE AGREEMENT. IN SHORT, IF WE ARE TO TAKE THE SOUTH AFRICANS ANY FURTHER WE MUST GIVE THEM SOME INDICATION THAT SWAPO WILL ACCEPT THE PROPOSAL WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF OUR CURRENT SUGGESTION.

9. WE DID NOT DISCUSS WALVIS BAY. WE EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THAT OUR RESPONSE WAS ONLY A PRELIMINARY ONE AND WE SHOULD BE SEEKING INSTRUCTIONS FROM OUR GOVERNMENTS BASED ON FURTHER STUDY OF THE PAPER.  
END QUOTE.  
EDMONDSON

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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** MEETING REPORTS, NEGOTIATIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 28 jun 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978PRETOR03647  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** DC ALTERED PER 78 PRETORIA 3691  
**Executive Order:** X1  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
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**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
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**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** NAMIBIA: PRETORIA FIVE MEETING WITH BOHTA JUNE 28 THE PRETORIA FIVE MT WITH FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA ON JUNE 28.  
FOLLOWING IS OUR AGREED REPORT  
**TAGS:** PDEV, SF, WA, (BOTH, PIK)  
**To:** STATE USUN NEW YORK  
**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014